1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
439 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
205 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
771 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the
642 stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway
602 that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
191 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full
[124] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral
577 theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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cally as *mali tukuna* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tukuna* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *tangalou*. *Watanga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapa* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in the household of the giver. The same word, *tapa*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of taro to the gods Matakaeua and Matakiua, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *tukutapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 290).

Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoosi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yaayaa sumai*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *fa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atoosi*, the mean or stingy person, *kakiaga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloulo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ¾ inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¾ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wakaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kowa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ½ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ⅜ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*ibo*, pl. 3*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kowa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalawa*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ¾ inch wide and ¾ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *nau* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, 241 into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread- 137 fruit trees grow on the island.

262 The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro.
●439 Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.